595 They have as many wives as they want, especially the chiefs and their children. They even have them on different islands. The wives live in separate little huts and sleep with their husbands in succession, one during one month, the other the next month. The one who is sleeping with the husband serves him during this time and follows him everywhere, even to sea. If they surprise their wives in adultery or [684] if the wives become pregnant by another man, they usually kill them, even though they sometimes leave them for two or three years without going to see them. The men are free to leave their wives, [597] and [536] the wives may then remarry; but the wives do not have the right to leave their husbands. Even though the husband may have several wives, [52] these are hardly jealous, except perhaps rarely.

●606 The husband never speaks to the father, mother, and brothers of his wife, unless they are drunk or are children. If he meets them on the same path, he avoids them by making a big detour. If necessity obliges them to speak, as when they are at sea, they turn their faces 585 away and cut the conversation short. They use no ceremony at all for their marriage. If the girl does not already belong to the man, [582] as the cousin issued from the [mother's] sister, he asks for her from the father or mother. They do not know what it is to speak of love. They rarely marry without the consent of their father or mother. The [533] men do not sleep with their wives unless they are really nubile and 846 capable of having children. When the wives are delivered of child, the husbands separate from them and they do not sleep together for five or six months. And they both fast—it is one of their most famous fasts—especially when their first child is a boy. The man fasts more rigorously than the woman, lest the child suffer. Father Raymond being at the home of The Baron at Dominica, went to see one of these fasters and as the Father spoke to him of this fast, the Carib told him that some men completely abstain from drinking and eating for the first five days after a childbirth by their wives, and then take nothing but some ouicou from the sixth to tenth days. After that they eat nothing but cassava and drink ouicou for the period of a month or two. Note that they eat nothing but the heart of the cassava and hang the rest with a cord for the feast. It is true that when they begin to eat, they eat and drink when they want, but nothing more than cassava and ouicou. When the day of the feast arrives, their friends assemble and one slashes the skin of the father's whole body with agouti teeth,

place to another. [312] The wives of the Caribs pretend to be brave and they take care not to show their jealousy. But however hard they try, jealousy shows itself. It appears that they have reason to be jealous, for the custom is that a wife having lived for one month with her husband should retire yielding her place to another. Sometimes, however, a man stays for a full year with another, abandoning the one he had chosen previously, and she feels this sharply. If she betrays her husband he will not fail to kill her. I have seen captains who tell their sons-in-law to go and sleep with their wives, for otherwise the captains say, they will give their daughters to others and this has happened several times. [208] When women die the men remarry, and when men die the women take other husbands. If these husbands also die, they can take other husbands. [269]

The Carib women do not approach anyone when they have their menstrual cycle upset and they will not allow anyone to approach them, no matter what bad treatment they receive for this conduct, because they believe that this would upset the cycle more. [298]

The young married people turn aside to avoid speaking and meeting their fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law, mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. When I observed this I asked them why they avoided speaking with people who are so useful to them. Their reply was, "It is not permitted for me. I dare not do it." [301] "Your mother-in-law is troublesome to you when she does not see her husband." [136]

Acátobou is a maternal uncle, i.e. mother's brother. Neukêcayem is an uncle who has married a maternal aunt. Naheupouli is an aunt. Ninántaganun is the term by which uncles call their nephews who are sons of their sisters. The aunts call these nephews ibátomon. Uncles and aunts call their nieces nibáche. Uncles and aunts call the children of their nephews nínibotle, nitamotle. The children of nephews call their great uncles and great aunts by the same term that their fathers use for these very same relatives. First cousins whom we call sons of the father's brother are called "brother." The brothers of the father are also called "father." The children of brothers never marry among themselves. But if the sisters of their fathers should have daughters they may well marry them. If there should be no daughters these male cousins are called iapátagnum. Girl cousins call their maternal male cousins nígatou when their sisters do not marry them, and in this case the boy cousins call these girl cousins niotille atonum. However, if these boy cousins should take these girl cousins in marriage, the female cousin is

584 —the female first cousin descending from the female line does belong to them—they ask her father for her, for they seldom marry against
582 the will of their parents. They have no degree of consanguinity forbidden among them, and it has happened that fathers marry their own daughters from whom they have children, and mothers marry their
[595] sons, although this is a very rare thing. It is quite common to see a case where two sisters have married the same man, and sometimes a
584 man marries a mother and her daughter. If a girl marries a captain or the son of a captain she is led to her husband by her father and her mother, and she carries her husband's dinner to him. The two of them eat it together, sitting on the ground in the center of the house without any other celebration, except perhaps for a little drinking party, that is to say a little debauchery between the parents, although this
591 is quite rare. The woman then lives with her husband. When a man who is not a captain marries a girl, he goes from his own place of residence as we have said, and lives in the house of his father-in-law.
● 606 In this situation the women have the advantage over their husbands, for they may speak to all kinds of people while the husband does not dare to speak to the parents of his wife, unless this restriction is dispensed with either by their age or by their drunkeness. They avoid meeting each other by making devious paths. If they are surprised in a place where they cannot take back what they have said, the one spoken toturns his head to one side in order to avoid looking at the man who speaks, if he must hear him. This strange custom was reported to me by a young man who had been a slave among them for
551 a long time. Husbands and wives change their names when they are married.

595 Polygamy is common among them and almost all of them have several wives and sometimes even six or seven. They even have wives in different islands where they are accustomed to go. It is chiefly the captain who boasts of having a large family in order to gain more credit among his people and to render himself more formidable to his enemies. A Carib who has several wives builds a small house for each of them. The husband visits them there so that
[605] for one month—they count by moons—he lives with one wife, and another month with another. Concerning this point it appears that there is no kind of jealousy among them. Women of Europe, call it a miracle if you wish!

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

between father and daughter, brother and sister, and of mother and daughter with the same man; "but the others hated them because of it." Of polygyny, the latter author wrote:

> It is a fact that some of the savages have several wives; yet nevertheless many women are without husbands, because the majority have only one wife, though there are a few who have two in one or two carbets. It happens quite often (when they are in another island where they have not brought their mistresses) that they get themselves new ones for the time of their stay only. I have never seen two women together, eating or sleeping with a Savage, nor travelling together with him in the same canoe. They have their turn, month and month about, even when pregnant. After giving birth they are a good while without seeing them for fear of harming the child.

However, it was not unknown for a wife to remain without seeing her husband for a whole year; and we are told of one case where the neglected woman's father, a chief, sent to warn his son-in-law that unless he put in a speedy appearance, he would find his wife bestowed upon another. Du Tertre, La Borde,[4] and Labat (though not Breton) mention the sororate. "If a husband shows himself worthy," says the latter, "or should his wife grow ill or old, the father-in-law will reward him by presenting him with the younger sister of his wife."

The old records mention no marriage ceremony other than that which consisted in the bride's serving the groom with food, and then eating with him. Then their hammocks would be slung next to one another; and the following day, the bride would comb her husband's hair and smear him with oil and roku (*Bixa orellana*). No women-folk except a man's own wife might eat with him, says Breton; while according to Labat (and present-day usage) not even wives ate with their husbands.

The bridegroom—unless he were a chief or a chief's son—took up his abode with his wife's family, and contributed as best he could to their common weal. Every married woman had her own fire for cooking, however; and every couple its own múyną, to sleep in, as well as the use of the communal tábuy or longhouse, which was divided into men's and women's halves. As has been seen above, if a man had more than one wife, he was expected to divide his time and services between their respective carbets.

Newly married couples were supposed to avoid (for how long we are not told) parents-in-law and siblings-in-law. Nor should they visit sick people, as this might hinder their recovery. According to Rochefort[5] (and present-day

4 (R. P.) de La Borde, *Recueil de divers voyages* (Paris, 1674).

5 César de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des Antilles de l' Amérique* (Rotterdam, 1665) [also attributed to de Poincy].

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

591 (1) Father; mother; married daughter, her husband and their children; two unmarried daughters, both with children; one unmarried son.

592 Three other married daughters have separate establishments in the immediate vicinity, as does one married son. Another married son lives with his wife's family some miles away, and one married daughter lives with her husband's people.

(2) Widowed mother; married daughter, her husband, and their children; widowed son; grandson (the latter is the son of another married daughter who has a separate neighboring establishment).

The widowed son's children live with their maternal grandmother.

(3) Father; mother; mother's pre-marital married daughter with her pre-marital son and her husband; mother's pre-marital son; unmarried daughter and her children; son; small son; small daughter.

586 Legal divorce is unknown to these Caribs, though they apply the word "divorce" to any separation between couples married legally or otherwise, of which there are several examples. In one case the wife left her husband because of ill-treatment; in another the husband abandoned his wife and fled to Guadeloupe (where he remarried) because he was in trouble with the English law; while yet another husband "divorced" because he could not get on with his wife's mother. Separation on grounds of sexual infidelity is very rare—chiefly because such a reason is considered too trivial to break up the union. Widows and widowers are free to remarry as and when they please.

585 Newly married couples as such are subject to no special restrictions, nor is [606] there any formal avoidance of parents-in-law. Customs and beliefs affecting [846] behavior at the menstrual period, during pregnancy, and after childbirth have been discussed in another paper.[7] In as far as the latter concern the father as well as the mother, they show vestiges of the couvade.

847 As illegitimate children and their parents are in no way stigmatized, abortion is rare and generally condemned (although on account of changing economic 844 conditions it appears to be now on the increase). Parturition takes place in a crouching position, usually with the aid of the parturient's mother or of some [827] old sage-femme, who employs massage and various herbal teas or potions (such as a draught of a boy's urine) if she considers it necessary to hasten labor. When she has cut and bound the navel cord, and bathed the child, the sage-femme (or [304] maternal grandmother) takes the infant on her lap, and inserts a finger under

7 Douglas Taylor, *Carib Folk-Beliefs and Customs from Dominica, B. W. I.* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 1, pp. 507-530, 1945), p. 519.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

h br (w sp) as well as to w ss (m sp). The term 24 was obviously one used during the period of ceremonial avoidance imposed on newly wedded couples in their relations with parents-in-law and sibling-in-law (cf. aníra *to undo*, or *do from;* rére *to turn aside*). Although neither Breton nor the term itself indicates how long this period lasted, it seems probable that it did not outlast the wife's first pregnancy. It must, on the other hand, have been applicable to all four "sibling-in-law-of-opposite-sex" relationships, and have therefore included that of ss h (w sp) as well as the three which are listed above. It may very probably have applied further to w m and h f, although of course the latter would not form a part of the matrilocal household.

This still leaves w br, h ss, and br w (w sp) unaccounted for. These affinals would not normally form a part of the matrilocal household; and would be identical, under the cross-cousin marriage system practised, with f ss s (m sp), m br d (w sp), and f ss d (w sp). As will be seen below and with the partial exception of the first (see 70), terms for these consanguineal relationships are also missing. Rochefort claims that all cousins of like sex called each other brother and sister, but this is not confirmed by either Du Tertre or Breton. If we are to accept the latter's remarks, quoted above, at their face value, it would appear that ibámuy (28) was used as a reciprocal for w br—ss h (m sp), and n-ibą́ku (27) as another for h ss—br w (w sp), as well as its recorded use "by girls" for ss h. There can at least be no etymological objection to such an interpretation, both terms being related to ibámwę *to breed, people,* or *multiply,* and every individual hypothetically designated by them being a potential grandparent of speaker's ibáli *grand-child* (97). Moreover, a tentative analysis of terms 91 and 92 (see below) supports this view with regard to the term ibámuy (28). This hypothesis might, if correct, point to an original system of sister exchange, with matrilineal descent (see also 33 and 67 below). The term yéruti (29), given as an alternative to 27 and 28 for ss h (m sp), may have designated originally a wife's unmarried brother, and derive from yéruni *that which remains.*

The men's terms for father-in-law, mother-in-law—or more precisely the common terms for (a man's) w f and w m (31 and 32)—are teknonyms meaning *son's grandfather* and *son's grandmother* respectively (cf. 81, 93, 95). With this may be compared the usage reported by Breton, who says that it was considered impolite to employ the names of married people in their presence either in reference or address. They should be spoken of or to, he says, as "father of N—, mother of Y—. "Although this is not the rule today, I know of two old couples who are habitually so called: "Pap N—", "Mam N—": N—standing in either case for the name of their youngest child. The reciprocal relationship